

THE UNION AND AMERICAN.
PUBLISHED WEEKLY.
BY F. C. DUNNINGTON & CO.
FIVE CORNER CHURCH AND CHERRY
STREETS, OPPOSITE THE POST OFFICE.
TERMS—Daily, \$14; Weekly, \$3.
SATURDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1863.
BUSINESS NOTICE.

WE announce to our former friends and patrons that we have disposed of the **UNION AND AMERICAN** Printing Establishment to F. C. Dunnington, proprietor of our firm, and J. P. Jones, one of the editors of the **Nashville Daily Appeal**, to the time of its suspension. These gentlemen will conduct the business in future. They will accept all subscriptions, and will pay to the printer all bills for printing, which were due from the paper at the time of its suspension.

We cordially recommend the new proprietors to the benevolence and support of the public, and to the liberal and generous patronage of the paper. We have no objection to its being read by any person, and we are not in any way connected with it. We have no objection to its being read by any person, and we are not in any way connected with it.

PARTICULAR NOTICE.
We have made arrangements with the former proprietors of the **Union and American** to carry out the business of the paper, and to pay to the printer all bills for printing, which were due from the paper at the time of its suspension.

We will have to ask those of the **Union and American** to send in their receipts, upon which we will enter their names with the printer, and forward the paper according to their direction.

Address: "Proprietors of the Union and American,"

TO OUR PATRONS.
We thank the indulgence of our patrons for a few days until we can get our house in order. The **Union and American** establishment has been removed, and it will take some time to get our books and the different departments of the office so reorganized that every thing will run smoothly.

Those who do not get their papers and there will be many such—must take the trouble to visit us from time to time. By and by the **Union and American** will be in a position to get our books and the different departments of the office so reorganized that every thing will run smoothly.

Many of our country friends will not receive the paper until we are notified of the amount due them, and the post office to which it should now be sent.

We will gladly receive any suggestions from those who desire to see that they may be made in the paper, and we will be glad to receive any suggestions from those who desire to see that they may be made in the paper.

We will spare no pains to give satisfaction to all, and to make ourselves useful to those who have favored us with their patronage.

NORTHERN OPINION.
The New York **Tribune** of the 2nd inst., in referring to the ratification of the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery, by the Legislature of North Carolina, says, "but its dissenting voice is exhibited, however, in the Legislature of North Carolina, which, by its action, has shown that it is not in sympathy with the example of North and South Carolina, to pronounce the doom, and make certain the death of slavery, and adds that but two more such ratifications are needed."

The **Tribune** has been able, consistent, persistent, and, to a greater degree than any other paper, to maintain the advocacy of its ideal vision. We have always respected its sincerity, which it exhibited, however widely we may have differed from it in opinion. The statement above, appearing in its columns, has suggested the train of remark which follows, because while proclaiming such facts as the ratification of the constitutional amendment by Southern legislatures, it advocates a policy in regard to the Southern States, which betrays, on its part, a deep-seated hostility—a spirit which refuses to be appeased, and which, if continued, will involve the people of the North in a civil war, and which, if continued, will involve the people of the North in a civil war.

It is known, as do all its collaborators in the work of preventing the restoration of the Union, that the Southern States and their people, are sincerely desirous to re-establish the union of all the States under the Constitution; that they have accepted, and made a willingness to honestly abide by the conditions imposed on their restoration to equality in the Union, have illustrated in a marked manner, that prevailing love of organized and well regulated government, which characterizes the Anglo-American people, and commended their course as a people of admiration to the civilized world.

The **Tribune**, and those of its ilk, cannot ignore the fact that, for every step taken by the Southern States, they are met by a hostile and unyielding opposition, and that they are met by a hostile and unyielding opposition, and that they are met by a hostile and unyielding opposition.

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profess, and to reject all sacrifice on its part. The Southern States, as shared by all that school of public men called radicals, whether they be in the South or North, and we think we do not use too strong language when we characterize it as a base and unworthy spirit, whatever the incentive which prompts its indulgence.

We have yet to see or hear urged, on valid reason against the readmission of the Southern States to their former and rightful status in the Union. We have neither time nor purpose now to elaborate the many cogent reasons, which, from the outlook of enlarged patriotism, are presented in its favor. We have heard much twitting about their failure to recognize the rights of man—which means simply that they have not advanced to the puritan standard of ideas about the negro race, and that they cannot admit, with their superior knowledge of the subject, that a colored freedman, recently emancipated from a slavery, which according to some puritans, was the most degrading and brutifying ever tolerated, is immediately fit for the high duties of an American citizen. But even those who sincerely entertain this fantastic opinion, have no right to make it the ground of excluding millions of white people who do not hold it, from the privilege of full participation in the government. We have heard much too of a necessary period of probation—that disloyalty so flagrant as that shown by the Southern people, requires time to be purged away, that it would be unwise to admit them, recently so completely changed, into the councils of the nation, and one zealous advocate of the exclusion system, the **Chicago Republican**, has even gone so far as to assert, that a "miraculous change" should first overcome the entire mass of the Southern people—a something perhaps, which human agency alone could not effect—a baptism from on high with the waters of unalloyed loyalty—a complete regeneration and new birth.

Supporting all that, we have not the patience to deal courteously. It is beneath the dignity of serious reflection. We have heard also, of States having forfeited their statehood—that they could not secede, but in an attempt, they could and did commit suicide, and that they have fallen into a territorial condition, there to remain, until it shall suit the sovereign pleasure of congressional *condemna imperium*, to reconstruct them. But the President has no power to argue at length the indestructibility of States, and the proposition is so clear, that none but a purblind fanatic can fail to admit its truth. These other sophisms and fooleries, equally vain, we have heard, but no substantial reason for longer delaying the complete restoration of the Union in all its parts and functions, and giving that quiet to the public mind on these questions, which is so much needed. Every month, every day, every hour, is wasted in a vain effort to do what is, in fact, impossible. We cannot believe that the President, with his antecedents, his sense of justice, his avowed determination to uphold the Constitution, the rights of the States and the rights of the citizen under them, can fail to be aroused to the importance of the crisis, and the necessity for a bold effort to protect the government against a conspiracy more treacherable to free institutions in America than the revolutionary efforts of the Southern States to secure a separate nationality.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE RADICALS.
It is evident that the people of the South, and the more conservative portion of the North, are troubled with the apprehension that the President may compromise too far with the imperious demands of the blind and reckless majority, which, unfortunately, compose the present Congress. We acknowledge that we are more hopeful. No one—not even the bitterest enemy of the President—ever questioned his sagacity. Having confidence in his purpose to adhere to the policy he has laid down for his administration, we cannot, therefore, suppose that he will daily with the avowed enemies of that policy, further than is necessary to get the advantage of position.

The New York **Herald**, its editors and correspondents are generally unyielding. The following, however, from its Washington correspondent, we believe correctly typifies the condition of affairs and the feeling of the President relative to the South:

THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE PRESIDENT'S POSITION.
It is very evident that the recent despatches of the President to his Provisional Governors in the South are misunderstood. These despatches are not to be interpreted as indications of a hostile attitude on the part of the President. He is anxious, as are the people of whom he is one, that the gates of strife and discord in regard to this question, shall be forever closed. It tells them that the great achievement—the emancipation of slaves—is enough for the present; and that man must be possessed of a devil and kindred passions, who does not see the necessity of the late struggling with the problems, and race relationships, will best settle themselves without the interference of government, when its policy is to be dictated by an official philanthropy which neither knows its business, nor how to do it. Let them reform it altogether, and as they are victors, let them exhibit that wisdom which makes victory complete, and crown its work.

THE POLICY OF THE PRESIDENT VS. THE RADICAL PROGRAMME.
PRESIDENT JOHNSON, preparatory to the reading of Congress, prepared a plan for the full and complete restoration of the Southern States to their proper relations under the general government. As individuals, we were required to conform to the terms of his proclamation of amnesty of the 25th of May last. As States, we were required to amend our organic law, repealing the ordinance of secession, abolishing slavery, and repudiating all debts growing out of the "secession" rebellion. We were also required to adopt the amendment to the Federal Constitution, proposed by Congress, to the effect that slavery or involuntary servitude, should never exist again in any part of these States.

Practically all these requirements have been complied with. The Southern States have elected their Senators and Representatives to Congress, and President Johnson, through his measures, has brought the doors of the two houses and has there left them with this simple declaration: "Here it is for you, fellow-citizens of the Senate, and for you, fellow-citizens of the House of Representatives, to judge, each of you for yourselves, of the ELECTIONS, RETURNS AND QUALIFICATIONS of your own members," which is in accordance with the power given by the 5th Sec. of the 14th Art. of the Constitution.

But the Radicals are not disposed to receive this phase of the question. The resolution agreed upon in their caucus, and subsequently adopted in the House, and which will be found in the first day's proceedings published in another column of this paper, provides for a joint-committee of the two Houses, "who shall enquire into"—not the elections, returns and qualifications of the Southern members—but "the condition of the States which formed the

so-called Confederate States of America, and report whether they or any of them are entitled to be represented in either House of Congress." In the meantime, "no one shall be received into either House from any of the so-called Confederate States, and all persons related to the representatives of said States shall be referred to said Committee without debate."

What could be more revolutionary than such action as this? Where can they find the shadow of authority for a dominant majority to seize the reins of government and what are not entitled to be represented in the Congress? of a government of which, according to their own theory, as well as our present convictions, all are equally members? As citizens of States within the Union we have been held amenable to Federal laws. As officers against the Union, in our individual capacity, we have been held to account, and required to so alter our State Constitutions as to remove all difficulties to future harmony. As part and parcel of that Union we are required to pay the high duties of an American citizen, in the same manner that the States of the North are required. It is not pretended by this Congress that we are out of the pale of the Union. It is not admitted that we have ever been. It is not pretended that we are any thing less than States. When and where then, we ask, has there been a bold, a more flagrant, a more defiant usurpation of power? Where an act more revolutionary in its character?

The withdrawal of the Southern States, even in the light of those who view it from a Northern standpoint, was not so gross a usurpation of power; since in the one instance the act was based upon theories long in dispute; whilst in the other it is but an open usurpation, in direct conflict with our own theory, and with nothing to support it but the naked motto of a tyrannical majority, mocking and baffling a disarmed and powerless minority.

Supporting all that is charged against the action of the Southern States in seeking to separate from the Federal government by force; true, that they acted without warrant in the Constitution; true, that they sought to dissolve the Union. And suppose that it was a crime. Does that justify the very States who opposed it and who put it down, in turning around and committing a greater crime? Are we to have no Constitution in future because, perchance, one section, in the past, argued at length the indestructibility of States, and the proposition is so clear, that none but a purblind fanatic can fail to admit its truth. These other sophisms and fooleries, equally vain, we have heard, but no substantial reason for longer delaying the complete restoration of the Union in all its parts and functions, and giving that quiet to the public mind on these questions, which is so much needed. Every month, every day, every hour, is wasted in a vain effort to do what is, in fact, impossible. We cannot believe that the President, with his antecedents, his sense of justice, his avowed determination to uphold the Constitution, the rights of the States and the rights of the citizen under them, can fail to be aroused to the importance of the crisis, and the necessity for a bold effort to protect the government against a conspiracy more treacherable to free institutions in America than the revolutionary efforts of the Southern States to secure a separate nationality.

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It is very evident that the recent despatches of the President to his Provisional Governors in the South are misunderstood. These despatches are not to be interpreted as indications of a hostile attitude on the part of the President. He is anxious, as are the people of whom he is one, that the gates of strife and discord in regard to this question, shall be forever closed. It tells them that the great achievement—the emancipation of slaves—is enough for the present; and that man must be possessed of a devil and kindred passions, who does not see the necessity of the late struggling with the problems, and race relationships, will best settle themselves without the interference of government, when its policy is to be dictated by an official philanthropy which neither knows its business, nor how to do it. Let them reform it altogether, and as they are victors, let them exhibit that wisdom which makes victory complete, and crown its work.

THE POLICY OF THE PRESIDENT VS. THE RADICAL PROGRAMME.
PRESIDENT JOHNSON, preparatory to the reading of Congress, prepared a plan for the full and complete restoration of the Southern States to their proper relations under the general government. As individuals, we were required to conform to the terms of his proclamation of amnesty of the 25th of May last. As States, we were required to amend our organic law, repealing the ordinance of secession, abolishing slavery, and repudiating all debts growing out of the "secession" rebellion. We were also required to adopt the amendment to the Federal Constitution, proposed by Congress, to the effect that slavery or involuntary servitude, should never exist again in any part of these States.

Practically all these requirements have been complied with. The Southern States have elected their Senators and Representatives to Congress, and President Johnson, through his measures, has brought the doors of the two houses and has there left them with this simple declaration: "Here it is for you, fellow-citizens of the Senate, and for you, fellow-citizens of the House of Representatives, to judge, each of you for yourselves, of the ELECTIONS, RETURNS AND QUALIFICATIONS of your own members," which is in accordance with the power given by the 5th Sec. of the 14th Art. of the Constitution.

But the Radicals are not disposed to receive this phase of the question. The resolution agreed upon in their caucus, and subsequently adopted in the House, and which will be found in the first day's proceedings published in another column of this paper, provides for a joint-committee of the two Houses, "who shall enquire into"—not the elections, returns and qualifications of the Southern members—but "the condition of the States which formed the

so-called Confederate States of America, and report whether they or any of them are entitled to be represented in either House of Congress." In the meantime, "no one shall be received into either House from any of the so-called Confederate States, and all persons related to the representatives of said States shall be referred to said Committee without debate."

What could be more revolutionary than such action as this? Where can they find the shadow of authority for a dominant majority to seize the reins of government and what are not entitled to be represented in the Congress? of a government of which, according to their own theory, as well as our present convictions, all are equally members? As citizens of States within the Union we have been held amenable to Federal laws. As officers against the Union, in our individual capacity, we have been held to account, and required to so alter our State Constitutions as to remove all difficulties to future harmony. As part and parcel of that Union we are required to pay the high duties of an American citizen, in the same manner that the States of the North are required. It is not pretended by this Congress that we are out of the pale of the Union. It is not admitted that we have ever been. It is not pretended that we are any thing less than States. When and where then, we ask, has there been a bold, a more flagrant, a more defiant usurpation of power? Where an act more revolutionary in its character?

The withdrawal of the Southern States, even in the light of those who view it from a Northern standpoint, was not so gross a usurpation of power; since in the one instance the act was based upon theories long in dispute; whilst in the other it is but an open usurpation, in direct conflict with our own theory, and with nothing to support it but the naked motto of a tyrannical majority, mocking and baffling a disarmed and powerless minority.

Supporting all that is charged against the action of the Southern States in seeking to separate from the Federal government by force; true, that they acted without warrant in the Constitution; true, that they sought to dissolve the Union. And suppose that it was a crime. Does that justify the very States who opposed it and who put it down, in turning around and committing a greater crime? Are we to have no Constitution in future because, perchance, one section, in the past, argued at length the indestructibility of States, and the proposition is so clear, that none but a purblind fanatic can fail to admit its truth. These other sophisms and fooleries, equally vain, we have heard, but no substantial reason for longer delaying the complete restoration of the Union in all its parts and functions, and giving that quiet to the public mind on these questions, which is so much needed. Every month, every day, every hour, is wasted in a vain effort to do what is, in fact, impossible. We cannot believe that the President, with his antecedents, his sense of justice, his avowed determination to uphold the Constitution, the rights of the States and the rights of the citizen under them, can fail to be aroused to the importance of the crisis, and the necessity for a bold effort to protect the government against a conspiracy more treacherable to free institutions in America than the revolutionary efforts of the Southern States to secure a separate nationality.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE RADICALS.
It is evident that the people of the South, and the more conservative portion of the North, are troubled with the apprehension that the President may compromise too far with the imperious demands of the blind and reckless majority, which, unfortunately, compose the present Congress. We acknowledge that we are more hopeful. No one—not even the bitterest enemy of the President—ever questioned his sagacity. Having confidence in his purpose to adhere to the policy he has laid down for his administration, we cannot, therefore, suppose that he will daily with the avowed enemies of that policy, further than is necessary to get the advantage of position.

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